

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00163 081510Z

43

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 A-01 /026 W

----- 038787

R 081403Z APR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MBFR VIENNA 0163

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CODEL SCHWEIKER/GRAVEL

DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET, FRG AND UK REPS - APR

1, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING THE VISIT OF SENATORS SCHWEIKER AND GRAVEL, AND REPRESENTATIVES FOUNTAIN, HICKS, STOKES AND O'BRIEN TO VIENNA ON APRIL 1, 1975, THE CODEL HAD SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THE US DELEGATION, WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY, AND WITH UK REP ROSE AND FRG REP BEHREND. THE MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST ARE REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING BRIEFING BY US REPS, CODEL MEMBERS COMMENTED AND POSED SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING MBFR ISSUES. SEVERAL CODEL MEMBERS INQUIRED AS TO WHAT LEVERAGE WEST WOULD HAVE TO GAIN EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF ALLIED APPROACH. REP HICKS THOUGHT ONLY WESTERN LEVERAGE WOULD BE FOR ALLIES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00163 081510Z

TO BUILD UP THEIR FORCES. SENATOR GRAVEL ASKED WHY EAST

SHOULD TAKE MORE REDUCTIONS THAN WEST.

3. ON OTHER ISSUES, REPS HICKS ASKED FOR RATIONALE OF ALLIED FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND SENATOR GRAVEL THOUGHT EASTERN REQUIREMENT TO REDUCE AIRCRAFT WAS LEGITIMATE. SENATOR SCHWEIKER ASKED WHY NEGOTIATION WAS LIMITED TO CENTRAL EUROPE AND INQUIRED REGARDING CSCE/MBFR RELATIONSHIP. SCHWEIKER, HICKS AND REP STOKES ALL QUERIED US REPS ON PREPOSITIONING AND WITHDRAWAL OF US TANKS IN REDUCTION AREA.

4. DURING CODEL MEETING WITH SOVIET REPS, KHLESTOV GAVE A STANDARD BUT WELL PRESENTED VERSION OF THE SOVIET POSITION AND PROPOSALS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, EMPHASIZING IN PARTICULAR THE NEED FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO UNDERTAKE REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET AND THE NEED TO INCLUDE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV MADE UNCONVINCING REPLIES TO QUESTIONS ON DATA EXCHANGE AND REGARDING THE EASTERN POSITION ON VERIFICATION.

5. THE MOST INTERESTING EXCHANGE WITH SOVIET REPS TOOK PLACE WHEN SENATOR GRAVEL PROPOSED A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES FROM CENTRAL EUROPE AND ASKED IF THE SOVIETS WOULD FOLLOW SUIT. KHLESTOV WAS CLEARLY TAKEN ABACK BY THIS SUGGESTION. HIS REPLIES EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR WHAT THE FRG WOULD DO IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES AND A CONSEQUENT PREFERENCE FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT IMPOSING LIMITATIONS ON THE GERMANS. NONETHELESS, KHLESTOV WAS CLEARLY INTRIGUED BY GRAVEL'S PROPOSAL FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS, AS INDICATED BY SOVIET REPS CLOSING QUESTION TO CODEL REGARDING EXTENT OF CONGRESSIONAL PATIENCE CONCERNING MBFR AND KHLESTOV'S SUBSEQUENT QUESTIONS TO US AND FRG REPS REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS.

6. DURING SUBSEQUENT CODEL DISCUSSION WITH UK AND FRG REPS, SENATOR SCHWEIKER INDICATED SOME IMPATIENCE WITH FRG WISH TO DEFER BUNDESWEHR REDUCTIONS TO PHASE II AND WITH GERMAN "HANG UP" ON NATIONAL CEILINGS ISSUE, SAYING THAT LATTER ISSUE MIGHT BE A STUMBLING BLOCK TO PROGRESS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00163 081510Z

SCHWEIKER SAID THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO SALT AGREEMENT HAD US TAKEN SIMILAR POSITION ON CEILINGS. SCHWEIKER URGED WEST TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF BLENDING APPROACHES OF BOTH SIDES AND NOTED SOVIET CONCERN ABOUT US NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE FRG. HE SAID REAL DANGER WAS THAT SENATOR MIGHT PULL OUT US TROOPS WHILE PEOPLE IN VIENNA DEBATE OVER WHICH IS CHICKEN AND WHICH IS EGG.

7. SENATOR GRAVEL PROPOSED, TO ROSE AND BEHREND, THAT US AND SOVIETS WITHDRAW ALL THEIR FORCES FROM NGA AND THAT THERE BE A FREEZE ON REMAINING FORCES, BUT LATER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS BECAUSE OF EFFECTS ON EAST EUROPE. HE THEN REPEATD HIS PROPOSAL FOR UNILAEAL US TROOPS CUTS ACCOMPANIED BY FREEZE ON FRG FORCES. GRAVEL COUNTERED ALLIED ARGUMENTS REGARDING SOVIET MILITARY CAPABILITY BY CHALLENGING BEHREND TO PROVE AGGRESSIVE SOVIET INTENTIONS, AND COMMENTED THAT SOVIETS WERE MERELY WASTING DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS A RESULT OF THEIR "PARANOIA." HOWEVER, GRAVEL INDICATED HIS OWN BELIEF THAT HIS VIEWS WERE MINORITY ONES.

8. REPS FOUNTAIN, O'BRIEN AND HICKS VOICED DISTRUST OF SOVIET PURPOSES AND INDICATED SUPPORT OF GOAL OF GROUND FORCE PARITY. CODEL MEMBERS INDICATED THEY WERE IMPRESSED BY FACT THAT AN ACTIVE AND SERIOUS NEGOTIATION WAS IN PROGRESS. THEIR MAIN FOCUS OF INTEREST WAS WHETHER THERE WERE ANY REAL PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

9. DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THESE CODEL MEETINGS HAVE BEEN REPORTED BY AIRGRAM.RESOR

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MBFRV00163
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750122-0094
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750472/aaaacnrm.tel
Line Count: 139
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <08 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: CODEL SCHWEIKER/GRAVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET, FRG AND UK REPS - APR
TAGS: PARM, US, UK, UR, GE, NATO, (SCHWEIKER), (GRAVEL)
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006